1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

meals prepared for them. Blind Bert's relatives, including a newly acquired son-in-law, helped him about at the dance. But in some cases, such attentions are short-lived as though people were impatient. Thus the real burden of Bert's care fell on his wife's shoulders, although he had adult children in the same camp. On the other hand, note Smyella's story of how he got shaman after shaman for his son (p. 280). Expressions of real concern for an ailing relative are by no means uncommon. 758

While the formal expression of sympathy for grief may take the form of a forced wailing, real sympathy is certainly voiced. For example, the men refrained for some time from using the customary sweatlodge, situated near the home of a man whose brother had recently died, because, as they said, the relatives were sad. The dead man's young son was treated with the greatest tenderness by his maternal grandparents, who now took charge of him. 152 571 [736] [603]

Personal cleanliness is, I think, somewhat greater than among the Zuñi and White Mountain Apache. Children spend summer days splashing in the creek, and men and women bathe in the sweatlodge and creek, somewhat indiscriminately. Men are not always careful to avoid exposure. Men are somewhat cleaner than women. Clothing is only infrequently washed: women wear their cotton slips while in the creek. Not much lousing or scratching is seen. 515 [871] [834] [296]

Estimates of individual worth are based on abilities, yet here, as always, values follow conventional standards. Chiefs become such by prestige and renown based on their personal qualities (dignity, industry, and even temper), on their wisdom, bravery, and friendship with foreigners. A man who would otherwise inherit chieftainship, yet lacks these qualities, would fail of receiving it. Chiefs are not gauged on their hospitality or liberality. Three of the six chiefs are recognized as the best speech makers in the tribe; an evaluation which even an outsider must agree is just. Rock Jones, the shaman, is credited with being best acquainted with the folk-tales, as well as being the best raconteur. 554 624

One individual, a man of middle-age, is known as an habitual liar. His veracity is held at such low value that no one repeats a statement of his without prefixing, "P—— said this." Captain Burro, now elderly, seems to have been a butt all his life. As a boy he was the subject of the smudge-punishment, as a young man his marksmanship was held in disdain, and today he suffers the jokes of the young men and the indifference of his peers. 558

Some women have reputations as basket makers. The criterion is apparently regularity of stitch, although the best of Havasupai products is inferior in this regard. 555

863 and her hands spreading his thighs somewhat. His legs are extended horizontally to prevent soiling them. At first, the mother tries to guess when
514 the baby is ready to excrete, or, if he begins to do so, she quickly takes
[516] him outside and holds him in the proper position. This is repeated until the baby learns the desired behavior. One informant stated that a child can be trained by the age of 18 months to ask his mother to take him to the toilet area, and that he will go alone when he is two years old, but observation indicates that training is seldom accomplished this soon. One boy of two and one-half years was taken out by his sister, a year older than he, who would remove his pants and wait to put them back on. If a child soils himself after he is old enough to ask for help, he may be spanked lightly, but more often he is verbally admonished not to repeat the act. The child is taught to cover his feces with loose dirt to keep the toilet area clean. During the training period, children of both sexes usually are permitted to go without
● [834] pants, but a girl's dress is long enough to cover her. Exposure of the genitals by either sex is largely ignored until the child is six or seven years old. Boys and girls up to this age go together to the toilet area and use it without subterfuge.

Weaning

862 Weaning is accomplished even more gently than toilet training. A baby is expected to wean himself when he can masticate solid foods. If he seems reluctant to give up the breast, pinyon pitch or pepper may be put on the nipples. If this doesn't discourage an infant, nursing is permitted to continue until he stops of his own accord. However, a nursing child, as he grows older, will be teased or shamed by the mother. This is done verbally and in a mild manner. Children, especially in former times, might not be weaned before they were three or four years of age.

Talking

868 A child is encouraged in learning to talk by urging him to repeat words
198 or sounds he doesn't pronounce correctly. "Baby talk" is not used by adults.

Hair Cutting

302 The hair formerly was uncut until the baby was two or three years old,
[177] when both boys and girls received a hair cut. Until scissors were obtained, an obsidian blade was used. After this cutting, the hair was allowed to grow long. Today, children of both sexes wear the usual American hair styles from infancy.

Names and Naming

551 Names are always bestowed without ceremony, and a person may have
553 two or more, one of them sometimes being a formal name, said by the Havasupai to have no significance, and the other names having a humorous connotation. If a person had a formal name, it was usually given to him by his parents, his grandparents, or another relative. The humorous names could be given to a man or woman at any time by anyone. However, the

wrinkel in their twenties. But look at me, I'm 44 and hardly have any wrinkles. Another thing, during the first four days of your monthly, don't smile very much, because it pulls your face in wrinkles and will leave lines there. We already told you not to eat meat or scratch with your nails at that time, and you shouldn't smoke for those four days. The same rules are for your husband and will keep him young too if he does everything right. We never told your people these things, so they just get old real soon. We're telling you because we want you to keep young like us. These things will make you look real young till in your fifties or sixties."

The method of washing the face was not checked with older informants but was verified by several of middle age. It is interesting that this informant mentioned refraining from smiling, but neglected any mention of frowning. The Havasupai characteristically are a smiling people. A frown is seldom seen, and the face in repose customarily wears a placid expression.

The Havasupai are relatively fastidious about personal cleanliness of their bodies and clothing from childhood until, perhaps, middle age. Families customarily bathe together daily in the creek during warm weather. Although middle-aged or old persons bathe less frequently, they go to a shallow place in the creek or bathe in a nearby irrigation ditch, modestly remaining partly clothed during the process. Creek bathing is believed to bring a rheumatic attack if the water is too cold. In winter, tub or sponge baths are taken, but less frequently. Personal cleanliness probably was emphasized less during winter plateau residence prior to permanent canyon residence and the ready availability of the water of Havasu Creek, which facilitates bathing.

Sexual Attitudes and Premarital Experiences

The assertion that former generations refrained from premarital sexual relations appears to be a statement of the cultural ideal rather than fact. Informants usually prefaced a discussion of the subject with this generalization, but subsequent explanations and case descriptions revealed that, although premarital sexual license may have been more restricted than at present, it was nevertheless quite general.

Teaching Modesty and Reticence

Although children of both sexes played together in early childhood, small girls were warned to seek privacy for excretory purposes and to avoid exposing their genitals in the presence of boys. Very young siblings of opposite sex now visit the toilet area together, and an older sister frequently has the obligation of attending a brother too young to take care of himself.

Small girls traditionally were cautioned to beware of sexual advances by older boys. In 1952, the mother of a four-year-old girl remarked that

834 she preferred to dress her daughter in waist overalls to discourage any
864 attempts by male playmates to pull her pants down or to make sexual overtures. She stated that she had warned her daughter against permitting any of the boys to disturb her clothing, and against exposing herself in a boy's presence. Nearly all little girls at present, however, wear dresses rather than overalls.

As a girl grew older, she was discouraged from association with boys
834 outside her kinship group. The pattern of isolated residence made it easy
867 for parents to watch their daughters closely most of the time. Nuclear or extended families camped together during plateau residence, and, commonly, any close neighbors would be relatives. Their semi-nomadic isolation during much of the year afforded young people few opportunities to meet away from the vigilant eyes of parents.

Children of both sexes were taught from early childhood to beware of
867 strangers, the threat of enemy raiding parties being a constant worry.
609 Girls, in addition, were expected to remain in the background when visitors, other than relatives, were present, particularly if boys their own age were in the group. Reportedly, the infrequent meetings between unrelated families resulted in extreme shyness of both sexes. The culture dictated that, ideally, a girl conduct herself with reticence and modesty.

Boys, reportedly, were warned to refrain from sexual indulgence be-
[827] cause it would hinder proper growth and weaken them physically. When
[864] girls reached puberty, they were instructed that sexual relations would result in pregnancy. Spier (1928, 324) notes that 35 years ago adolescent
[114] girls remained under their mother's supervision, not being permitted to go about the reservation freely. Perhaps regular school attendance has
[177] broken down this restraint upon young girls. At any rate, girls of today come and go, alone or in small groups, much as they please.

Although a family formerly spent much of the time in solitude, families
574 assembled for economic or social occasions such as the pinyon nut harvest,
857 cooperative hunting activities, intertribal trading, funerals, autumn and
571 winter story-telling, and, sometimes, visiting. Also families were close neighbors during the regular planting and harvesting season in Cataract Canyon. On such occasions, both on the plateau and in the canyon, play groups would almost certainly include unrelated children. There must have been opportunity on such occasions for young people to arrange secret meetings.

Concentration of tribal families on the reservation about 1895, and later
571 at Grand Canyon, brought individuals into continuous group association.

Learning About Sex

At least as far back as early reservation residence, and probably earlier during seasonal camping near the fields, young people of both sexes daily swam in Havasu Creek. Whether unchaperoned girls were permitted to swim together with boys prior to reservation days has not been learned, but members of each sex swam in separate groups under supervision of early school teachers. Because they were separated, both sexes swam nude. 864 834

At the present time, knowledge of intercourse may be learned from observation in the home, although parents strive for secrecy. However, it is acknowledged that, due to sleeping arrangements, children probably observe copulation at an early age. Older boys discuss their experiences in the presence of younger boys, and small children of both sexes may witness dogs and other animals in coitus, or may chance upon a couple in a clandestine rendezvous. One informant states that 30 or 40 years ago, older girls and boys would openly have intercourse in the presence of small children while pretending to the little ones that they were "playing house." 864 836 834

It may be significant in judging the former prevalence of some premarital experience that a groom made no trouble and asked no compensation if his bride were not a virgin. Spier (1928, 223) supports the view of present informants that neither a former marriage nor an illegitimate child made a girl less acceptable to a prospective groom, and this remains true today. [585]

It is reported, however, that in former times, a premarital sexual affair might lead to fighting between a girl's father and her lover, or to more serious consequences. "If a girl and boy went off together without thinking of marriage, and the girl's father thought they were sleeping together, he would shoot the boy," one informant said. While no case of an actual shooting was cited, such a threat may have been made. It is more likely, however, that an irate father, rather than shooting his daughter's lover, would shoot a horse or destroy property belonging to the youth in the traditional form of revenge permissible to the husband of an adulterous wife. The girl herself was severely chastized and sometimes beaten. However, such affairs apparently sometimes went undetected or, perhaps, were overlooked if a girl's parents had no objection to her lover, or if convention were not too openly flaunted. [684]

While public opinion was united in condemning premarital license, the weight of evidence indicates that, privately, people must have pretended ignorance that convention was being violated. [183]

It does not appear that the Havasupai have become socially or culturally disorganized or disintegrated to an extent likely to cause a breakdown in moral practices. Opler (1941, 141) suggests, in the words of an Apache informant, that young Chiricahua men could have intercourse with Comanche 182 834 836

girls, while they could not do so with their own Chiricahua girls because the two tribes had a basic difference in attitude toward the subject. The Apache informant thought the question had nothing to do with degeneracy or contact with white Americans, and that, as a matter of fact, the Apache tribe was the more disorganized of the two.

It seems reasonable to assume, in consideration of evidence at hand, that the Havasupai, once settled on the reservation, merely continued the practice of an established cultural pattern of sexual license. Reservation residence may have been a determining factor in producing a secondary change in the existing pattern, however, by affording opportunities for more frequent indulgence by each individual, and by permitting participation of a wider segment of the population in the general pattern. A change from restricted to somewhat preponderant sexual license is reflected in a similar change in public attitude toward such relations. While, formerly, public opinion rather vigorously denounced such behavior, present sentiment is milder in tone and less concerted in denunciation. This relative mildness of public censure apparently leaves members of the present younger generation undaunted in their preoccupation with sexual affairs.

Parents attempt to keep girls in ignorance of sexual relations until a later age than they do boys. When a girl acquires information on the subject, her parents attempt to frighten her from experimentation by telling her she will become pregnant.

It was not learned whether small boys and girls experiment with each other, but in 1952 it was reliably reported by two informants, one of whom was a witness, that a young man of 21 attempted to have intercourse with a cooperative little girl of seven. In the investigator's presence, about 10 minutes after it occurred, this episode was reported by a witness to a group of six or eight adults assembled to begin their afternoon gambling. In his absence the young man was publicly berated by the group which continued to gather. The youth in question, wayward, aggressive, and frequently in trouble for theft and other offenses, seems to be feared by many of his fellow tribesmen who report that he carries a knife and has threatened to use it on at least one occasion. When his father and uncle, who were among the gamblers, were told that they "ought to do something about him" both replied that they had chastized him verbally but in vain, and they were afraid to beat him because he would fight back.

Apparently, many girls are now initiated into sexual experience near the time they reach puberty, their instructors probably being boys several years their senior. It is said that if a boy and girl are seen merely talking together on a trail, they are assumed to be having intimate relations in secret.

Girls usually go about in pairs or in groups of three or four. Their demeanor customarily is shy and reserved, particularly in the presence of

boys and young men, or in a group of adults. Occasionally a boy may halt his horse on a trail to talk with two or three girls. Reportedly, it is assumed by any observer that the boy is carrying on an affair with one of them. 571 834

One informant stated that those girls who reach puberty before they are 12 years old, start menstruating as a result of having had intercourse with a boy. If this occurs, either or both of the girl's parents may beat her, but it is said that "today they don't beat her as hard as they used to." On the other hand, a boy is not beaten, but parents reprimand him for his part in the affair. Another informant denied that menstruation results from intercourse but verified that a girl's parents may beat her if they hear of her behavior. 841 834 684 827

Incidents of so-called rape involving teenage boys and girls occur occasionally, the participants often being a pair of boys and a pair of girls. Girls may loiter in appropriate places when returning home from a public activity after dark, and their protests are considered feigned when they are overpowered by the young men. Some parents make an effort to prevent their daughters from sexual involvement by escorting them home whenever possible. 684 834

One girl of 17 confided to me that she had been "out" with a particular boy on a certain night. "All girls have boy friends," she said. "A boy visits a girl's camp during the day pretending not to notice her, but they meet somewhere else at night. Each girl goes with a particular boy instead of changing around very often." A couple publicly known to have participated in an occurrence of "rape" four years ago, when the girl was 14 and the boy 16, later married.

Evidence indicates that virtually the entire male population keeps an eye on the young girls as they mature. Each year, one or two girls are considered the most pleasing in face and form. There is little doubt that the unofficial "Miss Havasupai" is under more than usual pressure from the male population. One such girl, following her initial popularity, is now labeled by at least part of her fellow tribesmen as a prostitute. It was reported that she caters to Indians and others in a nearby white community where she lives alone. 832 [548]

Behavior during Courting

At the present time, teenage individuals and young adults of both sexes flock to favorite swimming holes in the creek each afternoon. There, young couples may be seen privately conversing or enjoying water games together. Opportunity thus exists for them to arrange a rendezvous and to slip away separately during the afternoon, or to meet at another time. 584 834

It was noted that certain couples who engaged in conversation at the swimming hole in the absence of their elders, were ones reportedly carry-

584 834 ing on clandestine love affairs. One such couple observed together frequently in 1950 later married. Such couples arrive and depart separately in accordance with the traditional pattern.

Adults explain that courting couples, married couples, and couples, married or unmarried, who are engaged in a secret affair, do not show interest in one another in any public situation. The reason for this is that "they don't want to show off." A more exact explanation may be that they want to keep their relationship secret, particularly if either of them is married to someone else.

Observation bears out the accuracy of this reported behavior. An elaborate effort is made by members of both sexes to hide identity of a person in whom one may be interested, especially during the early part of a courtship. Subterfuge includes completely ignoring the object of one's interest, affecting in his or her presence a blank or detached expression customarily worn by individuals in a group who are not conversing, participating, or responding to activities of others. It was impossible for this observer to discover from behavior of individuals except at the swimming hole what secret alliances might exist in the tribe.

Not all couples who conversed at the swimming holes were engaged in love affairs, and it became evident only in the light of subsequent events that some of them were flaunting convention by showing their mutual interest in public. A stranger cannot discern from individual behavior in a group situation which Havasupai men and women are married to one another. The Havasupai themselves may however, recognize certain behavior patterns which betray the parties to a love affair. If so, such behavior patterns may consist of a too elaborate pretense of ignoring someone who previously may have been treated casually. Gossip concerning clandestine love affairs and resulting disputes between marriage partners, if either of the participants is married, occupies a conspicuous place in village conversation. It seems unlikely that so many couples suspected or accused of such behavior are observed at a rendezvous. There is always a possibility, of course, that a certain amount of gossip originates with jealous or maliciously inclined persons. Young courting couples, after an initial period of secrecy, are more inclined to let their regard for one another be known, especially when they begin to think of marriage.

Tolerance and Restraint

626 183 While private and public opinion is not indifferent, there is considerable tolerance of sexual alliance, or of successive alliances, if some regularity in association of partners is maintained.

Strongest condemnation is reserved for the following irregularities: (1) prostitution; (2) exaggerated promiscuity (sexual relations with many current partners); (3) homosexuality (reported only between males);

CHAPTER IV

MARRIAGE

Women's Attitudes Toward Marriage

Feminine deportment, according to the cultural ideal, should be shy, modest, and inconspicuous, with submissiveness to the male keynoting the feminine role both in private and public affairs. Unmarried girls of earlier generations are said to have conformed more closely to this behavior pattern than do those of today, the reason advanced being that parents formerly were more strict in disciplining and chaperoning their daughters. 834

Brides often appeared reluctant to marry, perhaps merely as an expression of culturally required shyness, but informants are insistent that such behavior betrayed genuine timidity or even fear. It is doubtful that fear, except of enemy tribes, was deliberately taught, and yet young girls were closely chaperoned, and women prior to old age were somewhat restricted from going about alone, supposedly to avoid being molested by fellow tribesmen. The line between shyness and fear appears unclear both as to cause and overt expression in examples from earlier generations cited by present informants, but the contention that such expression denoted genuine emotional resistence gains credulity in view of certain feminine attitudes and behavior noted in currently observed or reported cases of courtship, marriage, and extra-marital sexual alliance. Some women revealed feelings of insecurity and frustration apparently arising from two conditions: (1) feminine vulnerability to physical abuse by lovers or husbands by reason of inadequacy to cope with superior male strength as the decisive factor in conflict situations, and (2) improbability of improving the feminine position, either in a particular relationship or by severing that relationship in favor of another with some other man in the tribe. (A woman always perceived the foregoing conditions as objectionable in her own personal case, while the same woman would condone the right of a man to beat a woman if a generalized example of wifely misdoing were presented, or would condone the husband's right to use force in a particular example if she disapproved of the woman's conduct.) 834 581 562

Data pertaining both to past and present cases imply that Havasupai women have a basic ambivalence in emotional orientation toward men as individuals and as a class. This ambivalence, clearly present insofar as I am able to interpret observations, is a phenomenon which eludes full analysis at the present time. A study of all cases known to me leads me to speculate concerning possible causes of such an underlying ambivalence. However, these speculations must be regarded as no more than guesses or strong opinions.

usually eluded injury or capture by remaining undetected or taking flight. The example of alertness and caution by adult women no doubt inspired similar behavior in small girls, and later fostered real fear as understanding of the danger was acquired. 562 183 609

In summary, it has been pointed out that comparative isolation of family camp groups under aboriginal conditions probably contributed to the shyness of young people of both sexes. A girl, in addition to being guarded and taught alertness against enemy attack, was closely chaperoned by related females and was cautioned to keep the proper social distance from both unrelated and related males. 562 834 183

A girl maturing in such circumstances might be expected to remain chaste. However, the culture permitted sub rosa sexual license in certain circumstances. Thus, normative premarital and covert sexual behavior *was clearly contrary to the ideal which a young woman must overtly exemplify*. 183 562 577

A second source of emotional conflict for a girl might have been the father-daughter relationship in its contrast with that of husband and wife, as she was able to observe it between her own parents. Parental indulgence of small children was the rule. Daughters, almost as much as sons, were the objects of loving attention from a father, although girls assumed responsibility earlier than boys and so were taught discipline and submission to authority at an earlier age. While punishment was sometimes harsh (one woman reported that her father tore her earlobe with a severe jerk as a penalty for playing too long by the river when she had been sent after a bucket of water), severe measures were infrequently used and an affectionate paternal attitude generally was reflected in patience and verbal admonition or mild and infrequent discipline. 183 562 593 [861]

By contrast, however, a girl saw her mother yield or lose under force or threat of force when conflict between the parents arose. A wife had almost no alternative to submission for, if she fought back, she would suffer more grievously and in the end would lose to superior male strength, or, if she ran away to her relatives, they would send her back after a brief cooling off period. The easiest course for a wife was acceptance of male dominance and whatever treatment might be accorded her. (As one old man phrased it, "The man, he always win. If the wife fight back, it don't do her no good; she just get hit more.")

A father's position as family head and protector undoubtedly inspired his daughter's respect, while his affection and indulgence probably provided a sense of physical and emotional security during her youth. However, identification with her mother in the role of wife could easily have caused a girl, even one in love, to shrink from a prospective marriage. [581]

562 581 The assumption of marriage represented the greatest period of stress, with the exception of widowhood, which a woman faced in the course of a life span. In addition to social and psychological factors, the economic vulnerability of an individual under primitive conditions contributed to the crisis element in marriage. The transition was somewhat minimized by the traditional period of matri-local residence, but marriage nevertheless meant for every bride an open acceptance of sexual alliance which she previously had overtly pretended to reject, and it meant also a transfer of authority over her from her father, with whom she usually felt secure, to her husband, with whom she could expect to be in a position essentially vulnerable. [591]

It should be noted that girls at marriage would differ in age, temperament, emotional maturity, and family background, as well as in degree of sexual sophistication. This may account for variations in bridal attitudes ranging from modest agreement or token resistance, to violent rejection and *even repeated flight.*

Changes in the Pattern

178 562 581 834 While ambivalence seems also to be manifest at present in the attitudes of Havasupai women, no case of extreme reluctance such as that attributed to brides of former generations has been reported for the recent period. This may result, in part, from a closer association between the sexes in youth tending to lessen shyness and, in part, from possible feminine economic independence outside of the Havasupai Reservation.

Also, an apparent increase in premarital sexual experience, involving both a wider segment of the feminine population and greater frequency of occurrence for girls individually, has been accompanied by quasipublic acknowledgement and only mildly expressed disapproval of the normative behavior pattern. (This reported change in public sentiment, subtle in nature, can only be estimated as one of degree.) [896]

A third factor, which may operate to minimize bridal reluctance at present, is that parents play a diminishing role in marital arrangements, thus permitting a girl greater opportunity to marry a man of her own choice, almost always one with whom she has had a premarital alliance of some duration.

With children of both sexes attending school together and living in close proximity, parents cannot entirely relegate their daughters to the background nor chaperone them closely. Girls are still taught to conduct themselves modestly, and their behavior is marked by reticence, although young people of both sexes laugh and joke together while swimming or gambling in mixed groups and on other occasions of a public or festive character, especially in the absence of their elders.

Parents urge their daughters to remain chaste for fear of pregnancy. However, while first infractions are sometimes punished, emphasis on the former ideal seems diminished to a degree that makes it unlikely that ambivalence would arise from this source at the present time. 178 562 834 581

Such ambivalence as I have perceived in present generations seems to find expression, not at the time of marriage, but most frequently during lovers' quarrels, rifts in marital or extramarital affairs, or divorce. Women in the observed cases appear to desire a position of greater respect and security than they are able to find with the men in question. They apparently desire male cooperation in fulfilling biological, social, and economic roles, but find themselves almost as precisely limited as women of earlier generations to acceptance of male dominance in marital or other interpersonal relationships, their alternative being termination of the alliance. Examples studied reveal a seeming feminine vacillation between emotional acceptance and rejection of the man in question in such tension situations.

In conclusion, it is reiterated that my explanations of the apparent ambivalence of the Havasupai woman's orientation toward men, individually and as a class, and toward marriage as a personal experience, are essentially conjectural and speculative.

Courtship and Trial Marriage

Courtship among the Havasupai assumes two generally distinct forms, hereafter to be referred to as primary and secondary. 584

Primary Courtship

Primary courtship includes early amatory dalliance with one partner, or two or more partners alternately or successively; it is based upon sexual interest but is not considered a prelude to marriage either by a couple in question, their kinsmen, or the social group. This is roughly comparable to (but not inspired by) teenage dating in white American society, in that members of both sexes are "playing the field" for the sake of its own reward and are gaining firsthand knowledge to serve later in selection of a spouse. The Havasupai adolescent, perhaps unconsciously but more positively than his white counterpart, uses this method to narrow the field from which a spouse may eventually be chosen, the tribal population being so small that all possible choices within the tribe are personal acquaintances.

In primary courtship a girl's sexual experiences may be infrequent or irregular, depending upon her personal charms and inclinations, unless she forms an attachment with a particular boy. After two young people develop a mutual, though not necessarily exclusive, preference for one another, their relationship assumes a pattern of some regularity which may continue

related, or his parents might dislike her or her family. If his parents vetoed a marriage, a boy usually respected their wishes, but on the other hand, if a son refused a match his parents desired for him, they might "keep after him" until he yielded. With traditional patrilocal residence, it was to the advantage of a boy's parents that their son marry a girl who would be an asset in their household, both in temperament and capabilities. 584

While a girl could not properly take the initiative in choosing her husband, her father occasionally might do so. This seldom happened unless a girl had no brother or was an only child. Her father would desire an industrious son-in-law to help him and, later on, to look after him during old age. In such case, the father would seek a man willing to adopt permanent matrilocal residence. When the girl's father settled upon someone he liked, he usually would consult her before speaking to the boy's parents. If the boy were unwilling, his parents usually did not press him into this type of marriage. The parents themselves might refuse to consider such a proposal unless they felt reasonably sure that it would not deprive them of needed assistance in their declining years.

Although a marriage proposal might have been accepted beforehand by a bride, when the groom came to the bridal bed he sometimes met token resistence, very likely an expression of the culturally inculcated shyness which was considered by a woman of any age as being properly feminine behavior. On the other hand, if a girl's parents had made arrangements against her wishes (or perhaps, if she were genuinely fearful), she probably would fight with all her strength or would try to run away on her bridal night, or later, if she were temporarily subdued. An informant gave the following description of possible courses open to a bride: 585 [834]

"The girl might start fighting the boy when he wanted to get into her bed, but he kept on trying his best to sleep with her. If she didn't like it, she might run out of her parent's hogan and go to her relatives nearby. These relatives would know her folks wanted her to marry that boy, so they would talk to her about going back.

"Sometimes, the boy would leave the girl alone for a night or two, then he came trying again. If the girl really didn't like him, or if she was just scared to get married, she would scratch the boy and fight him off. Her parents would help the boy. Sometimes, the boy wanted to take her to his place. If the girl was fighting him off, her parents would help take her away, because they wanted her to marry him. The girl would try to fight her parents too. They wouldn't give in to her if they wanted to keep the stuff the boy's father gave them.

"Sometimes, it took quite awhile, three or four months or maybe a whole year, before the girl gave up and let the boy stay married with her. The boy and her parents made her do it in those old days if they really wanted it that way, but sometimes her folks didn't care and gave back the stuff when they [585]

343 75 four being the ideal total number prescribed for each use of the lodge. They would enter backwards, the shaman taking his place nearest the heated [824] rocks and water, which was sprinkled on them. Frequently, sweet-smelling herbs or leaves would be hung in a bundle above the rocks, and the floor 343 of the lodge covered with willow or cottonwood branches. The shaman would sing a song and repeat it four times, although, if the shaman were not pres- 533 ent, another man who knew the songs could act in his place. Spier (1928, 337) 75 indicated that sweatlodge songs were sung not by a shaman but by an old man. Our data indicate that either could participate.

At the conclusion of each song, the shaman usually would place his mouth on the afflicted portion of the patient 's body and forcibly blow his overheated breath on the area. Hand pressure also was applied in the belief that forced movement of the blood would work the heat into the painful spot.

Songs used in the sweatlodge were not to be sung outside. They were different from those a shaman learned in his dreams, but were, nevertheless, not to be taken lightly. The entire procedure was repeated four times. 343 The men remained in the sweatlodge 15 to 20 minutes each time and, in the 75 intervals, lay on the hot sand in front of the entry. Rubbing the body with sand was thought to aid in the removal of the affliction, as did the heat; drinking copious amounts of water before and after the sweatbath was believed to "clean out the body." At the conclusion it was customary, although not mandatory, to bathe in the river. Even when a shaman was not present, the man who entered first would dip his right hand in the water, sprinkle the hot stones, and speak aloud about how the heat, water, rocks and steam would remove the aches from their bodies. Others would respond with the term, hánaga, good, whenever reference was made to good health or the removal of illness. Then the initial man would begin his song and the others would accompany him, humming if they did not know the words.

It is clear that the attitude toward curing ritual in the sweatlodge is more casual than that at other shamanistic rites. Cures may or may not be effected. [Iliff (1954, 146-54) detailed a case of an ill child whom shamans refused to treat. The boy's parents had him placed in a sweatlodge where he was sung over by two laymen. Shortly after, he recovered.]

515 It was and is customary to take sweatbaths almost every day in the 343 summer, usually in the late afternoon. In the winter, the frequency was reduced to two or three times a month.

● [834] Men and women, whether ill or not, should avoid sexual intercourse for four nights before using the sweatlodge. If one violated this prescription

If one violated this prescription 343
it was thought blindness and excessive facial wrinkles would occur in middle 515
age. Both sexes may avail themselves of the sweatlodge simultaneously, 834
although it is customary for a woman to enter with her husband. Both sexes [826]
avoid exposing themselves unduly. Men wear loincloths, today fashioned [291]
from burlap; women wear slips, which they lower to the waist when inside. [178]
Children also are permitted to use the sweatlodge with adults, but not frequently. Smaller children usually are permitted its use only when ill, and 343
a sick baby would be placed outside near the entry while someone inside 515
sang for its recovery. Some of our informants believed, however, that in [757]
former times the sweatlodge was restricted to adults, especially those suffering from pain and soreness occasioned by hard work and long horseback or foot trips.

Pregnant women and their husbands were forbidden the use of the lodge [843]
because of the belief that the fetus would sweat and "become ill," or that
the infant would be born blind. Menstruating women and their husbands 343
also were advised against taking sweatbaths although this taboo could be lifted 515
if a woman suffered severe menstrual pain. On these occasions the woman 841.
would hold a small twig of "squaw-bush"[Rhus trilobata] in her mouth to
prevent her from becoming wrinkled or blind in later years. Care was
taken to keep the menstrual discharge from contaminating the structure.
Should a man and woman using the lodge together be discovered in sex play, [834]
the structure would be abandoned.

That participation in Havasupai sweatbaths is refreshing and relaxing 515
has been noted by all ethnologists who have experienced them (see for ex- 123
ample Spier, 1928, 337, fn. 2). Smithson and I, independently, noted the
same reactions. Unaccustomed to the intense heat, which Smithson recorded as ranging between 118° and 157° F., we felt weakness and sensations of searing of the skin, lungs and nostrils. But once we were outside, and even while subsequently bathing in the river (water temperature 65° F.) a refreshing feeling ensued. [My own sweatbaths usually were taken following long, tiring horseback trips.]

Death and Funeral Customs

763

When an individual was suspected of being near death, relatives tried
to stay nearby. Sometimes a song, mätabílyih, was sung, either by the [533]
ill person or by a close relative who had requested permission from the
patient. This was a preparatory act and insured that the individual would
"keep the song" after he had died. [This is no longer done and no one now [178]
remembers any of the songs.] Wailing also began before death.